/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chúnel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions: "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

cf: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[18] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules—numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[19] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[18] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 187. [19] *Ibid.*, 2: 158–159.

3:Nash B-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.456-B] Teklum

682 ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
674 analyzed the circumstances surrounding the
121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
674 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF
165 37 HOMICIDE CASES[3]
[128]

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of
165 them—were curers, a much higher proportion
756 than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 There is a personality type recognized by the
156 community as distinctive of those who "get

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[P.462-C]

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TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

	Brother	Brother-in-law	Son	Son-in-law	Neighbors	Relative of witchcraft killing	Curers	Cattle owners	Rival for girl	Drunken	Not of community	?	Total
[683] Victim was accused of witchcraft	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	6	19
Victim accused suspect of witchcraft	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
[585] Cattle theft	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	6
[578] Rivalry over girl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Abusive behavior	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	2
[579] Drunken quarrel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
[627] Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Political conflict	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	5	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	2	2	11	37

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P. 464-B] Teklum

682 539 783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 156 828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wut*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608] [756] [273]

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

[578] 682 626

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

682 178 121 626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

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[P.465-A] Teklum

only a rise in the tensions that provoke conflict, but an undermining of the social-control mechanisms for channeling them. The perception of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

Increasing Social Tensions

New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today, one of the herders in the community has 200 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the boundaries of this corporate community. Suspected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

The illicit distilling of liquor has also added to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40 in the last five years. From an enterprise formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has reduced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

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[P.465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

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178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a
[273] long examination called *?it yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening,
[682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:
683
[632] I went and asked permission of the authorities to kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

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accused him of being a witch, he was put in the local jail by the judge and then removed to the departmental capital. During his term of imprisonment an epidemic broke out in the town; it was attributed to witchcraft supposedly practiced by him and by two other curers who remained in town. These two were then imprisoned. After they were set free, all three men were killed in different episodes involving accusations of witchcraft. Permission to act as executioners was granted by the civil authority.

In the past, the public review of a case before a killing probably served to minimize homicide, since permission was not always granted. Since 1953, when a large highway first linked the town to the departmental capital and communication between this center of justice and the local township increased, the civil authority has not given permission, and prior review of witchcraft cases occurs only with epidemics.

The final incident in which the civil authority confronted the curers occurred in the spring of 1966. The president accused one of the curers of cutting short his life by lighting candles in the mountains. The curers were called together to hear the threat and to go to the hill to look at the evidence. The accused curer remained at home pleading that he was sick. He was warned not to pursue his witchcraft, and as yet there has been no use of violence on either side. This open confrontation without the use of violence may indicate a change in the strategy of conflict with the growing power of the president.

(3) *Breakdown of the dual division.* The loss of internal controls in the curing profession and the conflict for power and control by the civil officials and the curers are related to a more fundamental change in the social structure of the community. Formerly the division of the town into two sections provided a channel for opposition as well as cooperation. Recruitment into leadership positions in both the civil hierarchy and the curing hierarchy was based upon residence. The system provided checks and balances in the exercise of power, for the two principales—one from each section of the dual division—were supposed to act as watchdogs over the curers. The shift in the locus of social control from the principales to the president has been marked by the open confrontation with the curers.

The authority of the president, however,

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The authority of the president, however, depends on the use of legal sanctions of prison sentences and fines imposed by extracommunity enforcement agencies in the departmental capital. The weakness of these sanctions—the fine for homicide is 1,000 to 3,000 pesos or three to five years' imprisonment—means that these threats do not have a controlling effect on people's decisions to act. Homicide, carried out by individuals who feel themselves to be threatened, is a supplementary mechanism for social control. Cast in the idiom of witch-killing, homicide is the quasi-official execution of a community threat.

The breakdown in the former structural controls has not been compensated for by the intervention of extracommunity institutions. Attempts to circumvent killing are made by the priest, who counsels against it, warning that the killer will acquire the sins of the man he kills, and by the talking saint of Ixtapa, whom the Indians consult when they are pressed and who advises them to wait—their enemy will be killed for them. This advice is not sufficient to forestall all killings. Motivated by fear, some men still seek to eliminate the object of their fear.[7] The sense of the guardianship of the ancestors and their intermediaries, the curers, is lost along with the intervention of the civil authorities. The individual reacts, using his own means and trying to get sufficient consensus to avoid reprisal.

III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Homicide in the community of Teklum can be a statement of the fear of witchcraft, of revenge, or of quasi-official reprisal depending on the circumstances and social relationships involved. Even in this small, self-contained community, homicide does not have a single meaning, analyzable within a single framework of change.

Homicide is part of the expectation pattern of the town. The patterning of the acts of homicide in terms of time, place, and agent makes possible rules of avoidance both in long- and in short-term calculations for survival. The long-range rules require respect behavior to elders, equals, and juniors and the avoidance of abusive or boastful statements. The short-range rules are to avoid walking alone in the woods or milpas far from town, to stay home at night, and to stop drinking.

Despite the grim and expectable outcome of being killed, not all men heed these rules. The love of power and the projection of self into

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wider ranges of expression than are usually permitted in the community prompt men to assert the strength of their swayohel, to run races with the animal spirits of others in the assertion of pre-eminence, to boast of their material goods, and to "wake up dead."

The increasing rate of homicide is related to the following changes in the community:

(1) Increasing friction resulting both from the introduction of new economic enterprises and from political competition by the recently settled land-reform colonies has introduced a new kind of homicide, in which an opponent is killed either by the person whose interests are threatened or by hired killers. It has also stimulated accusations of witchcraft stemming from envy.

(2) The curers' loss of leadership and of control over entry into the curing profession has led to competition among them and to a loss of respect for their ability to overcome witchcraft. Curers have become the most frequent suspects of being witches.

(3) Loss of faith in the guardian ancestors and in the guardianship functions acquired from them by the curers has further undermined the position of the curers as agents of social control. This has aggravated the sense of insecurity and fear, which provokes the uncontrolled use of individual violence.

(4) The shift of power from the principales to the town president has led to a breakdown in the system of checks and balances exerted by the principales over the curers, and to a direct confrontation of the curers by civil officials.

(5) In the confrontations of the civil authorities and the curers in the '40's and early '50's, the fact that a witchcraft case was officially reviewed and the killing of the witch sanctioned may have served as a brake on the number of such homicides. Since 1953, when this practice was abandoned, those who have felt themselves or their families to be the victims of witchcraft have been left to their own recourse.

The organizational changes summarized here are provoked by structural changes affecting recruitment into the positions of power and the validation of leadership in the exercise of power. The dual division of the town provided an accepted basis for recruiting

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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

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NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *?ah'-čamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *?a?al*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *rnuyelal*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

443 ket of Tenejapa. Other commercial centers are Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon in the north. These markets are also frequented by Ladinos, but others, located far from the cabecera, are exclusively for Indians. The most important of them is the Saturday market of Yochib near Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. It draws 300–400 natives, who arrive at dawn carrying agricultural and handcraft products. Most people come from 8 to 10 in the morning, after which they begin to depart; about 2 or 3 P.M. only those staying to drink chicha are left. Transactions
[439] are paid in trade or in money.

Wage Work

464 Because the cold climate and the rugged topography of the region produce little corn, the natives must work periodically as day laborers on the coffee plantations of the Soconusco area on the Pacific coast. About 7000 Tzeltal and a few more Tzotzil work there each year. Natives may go to the coffee plantations any time of the year but prefer to do so during the months the milpa requires less attention (either after planting or after harvest). Between Yajalon and Ocosingo are plantations where men from the neighboring villages are hired for short periods.

Use of Wealth

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183 Because of their social organization, it is very difficult for these Indians to accumulate wealth. The worst sin an individual can commit against the community is to store up crops, domestic animals, or clothes, or simply to build a better house. Whatever
[754] raises an individual above his fellows—buying a new house, improving an old one, buying a horse—can cause in them a deep fear of being the target of witchcraft (Villa Rojas, 1947).

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183 Those who, enjoying good health, are able to pile up some wealth, are obliged by the community to spend it in banquets and amusements for the community. It is believed that the old men and principales

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raft, *poi,* to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken. Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

273 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[578] [609] [596] [621] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273 183 [689] All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable, though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273 578 Both insults and physical aggression by drunken individuals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273* TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.
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539 "Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more,

273* In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender.
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539 Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC *AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... A SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMXNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 627 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

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M. YA XLIHK KUT HBAHTIK SOK *EHK HBANKILTIK I PERE ...

We start to fight with our brothers too, but . . .

J. *E PE TOH *AY C'IN HNUX I SKAH NAX YAKUBEL *EHK ABI.

But it's easy [to fight] a little on account of drunkenness.

M. YAKUBEL ...

Drunk . . .

J. MA* KUXLEHALUK.

Not sober.

M. SKAH YAKUBEL.

On account of drunkenness.

J. YU*N TONC TONC MOEM A YA*Y STRAWO *EHK ABI.

It's only that one feels like overstepping from the aguardiente.

HAYUN *AY A XMOH TA *AHOLIK Z'IN PE HA*NAX TE*K ABI.

Sometimes it goes to their heads, but only a little [fighting].

M. TOHOL K'OP.

Just talk.

J. MA*K XCAMOTIK YU*N *EHK TOHOL K'OP I.

We don't die from just talk.

Another illustration of the tendency to discount drunken behavior is a discussion in which Aurelia Ramirez reports the insults of the young man whom she had turned out of her house (mentioned in text above):

273* 578 539 A. NUN TE*K'EL NUN TA YUT C'IN NA E, YA XBON, YA XK'OTON TEME ...

He stood right over there, inside the little house [and said], "I'm going, I'm going to come". . .

MA* LOMUK A XBON STUK *ILI, YU*N K'AN LAHUK SLA* KO*TAN E.

"I'm not going away just like that, not till my anger is used up."

MA XLAH SLA* KO*TAN TU*L A SNUZONIK LO*L I, YAK'ONIK LO*L E.

"My anger isn't used up, because they turned me out, they sent me away."

TYABLO YA KIL TU*L A XLOK' TUK SLA* KO TAN I, MA*Y BA* XBAHT, XCI.

"The devil! We'll see how my anger will come out, it's not going to go away," he said.

M. *A XCI.

He said that.

A. XCI TONC XCA BA YAL HONC HAL BAHT I.

He said that, he talked a lot of witchcraft when he went away.

M. ME YUN A XYAKUB *A.

Could he have been drunk?

A. MA*K XYAKUB TAT KUXLEHAL A YAL.

273* 578 He wasn't drunk, mister, he said it when he was sober.

Mariano, in evaluating Aurelia's remarks, asks the crucial question, "Could he have been drunk?" The fact that he was sober implies that much more weight can be placed on his statements of his power to do witchcraft against others. We may perhaps infer

273* 578 that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* 578 539 593 F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN BETIK SNA....

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY HA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLIHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N HA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
578 that at all, compadre.
539
593 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUMAR *AY MA* SLUMARIK XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KEMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMIGOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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In this text fragment, Felix is describing to Mariano how his older brother is threatening him over a matter of inheritance. Felix reports that his brother comes to his house and threatens witchcraft upon the family unless the matter is resolved in his favor. Mariano, in his only appearance in the text excerpt, inquires rather sharply if this does not happen only when the brother is drunk. Felix answers in the affirmative and sketches in his feeling about the ambiguity of the situation: (1) one may threaten while drunk, but the hearer does not know whether what the drunken speaker is saying is, from the speaker's point of view, a statement which is true of his sober condition as well or only of his drunken condition; (2) the ambiguity is further reinforced if, when the speaker is sober, he is properly respectful of the listener, whom he has insulted or threatened while drunk; (3) from the point of view of the drinker himself, one knows that he sometimes remembers his performances and sometimes does not remember them. An unremembered performance has the character of communicating less reliably to the receiver than a remembered performance. The receiver must note, then, that any particular drunken performance may be a member of the unremembered class and hence not entirely useful as a basis for inference and action in relating to the person who is performing it. This characteristic of drunken communication causes Felix to evaluate drinking negatively. It leaves him in doubt as to

what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.

While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-
754 craft component will probably be attributed to his character. If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so ex-
578 treme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character" (but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
578 a source other than the text.)
539

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

273* ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TON TA
•578 S(H)OL ... HIZ
539

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA TONI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXLAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* In one text we find Mariano defending himself against
626
578 statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* 626 578 leads the prayers in the church (the rezadora) had two anonymous notes left at her door, asserting that her character was incompatible with such a role. The effect of this accusation was sufficiently strong to cause her to withdraw from her position. She and her family tried to discover who the note writers were. Under these circumstances it was not long before a few candidates for this position were being considered.

273* 695 626 578 Rules of evidence for finding the performers of anonymous acts are quite relaxed, though sufficient to the task from the community's point of view. The successful anonymous act is not seen by anyone, hence the reconstruction of the act is made on the basis of motives, and on the succeeding acts which the allegedly guilty person may display. Furthermore, there may be special characteristics of the act which restrict the number of those who may be guilty. If, for example, a man is known to have been killed with a pistol, the assassin is conceded to be limited to one of those who is known to have a pistol. In the present case, a note was written in Spanish, and the author was hence limited to that handful of individuals in the community who can write Spanish. Mariano is perhaps one of the best Spanish writers in the community.

He further damned himself by saying while drunk that he wrote and delivered the note. In this text, he is talking with the rezadora who was forced out of her job, with the full knowledge

273* 695 626 578 that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

273* 578 539 626

HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*LI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* 539 578 626 HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTON HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEK *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you ... ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

273* 626 578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273* 578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

273* communication status of deep drunkenness to brag about brash
• 578 acts they have done and/or to assume authorship for acts they would have liked to do. The aftermath of such performances sometimes requires a delicately balanced conversational gambit to return a relationship to its pre-drunken state.

The resolution of conflict

Where the drunken behavior of an individual is seen by another individual as placing him in jeopardy which persists beyond the limits of the particular drinking situation, the jeopardized person has a choice of actions by which he can decrease his feeling of vulnerability. He may do so either by regaining his pre-conflict control over resources or by placing the person who is the source of the conflict in an equivalent or more serious state of jeopardy. (A fairly detailed description of these two alternate modes of action in response to conflict in Aguacatenango can be found in Metzger 1960.) The distinction between increasing the antagonist's jeopardy and restoring one's own control over the situation serves as the basis for the distinction between what I have termed penalizing and restitutive outcomes of conflict. The principal feature of a restitutive strategy is that it renders the state of jeopardy between individuals "neutral" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties involved. This neutrality is relative:

273* 978 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeopardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez 273* 578 593 539 tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him while drunk:

PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....

Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .

HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.

He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.

LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.

His children were taken ill.

273* Z'IN *EHK HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539

I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN NA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's
578
[593] drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UKIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWC*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

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627
539 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP, HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273* 578 In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less [692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* ing strategies outside the court (murder or threat of murder)
578
[692] when the jeopardy involves a death.

Patterns of drinking in the expression of and the resolution of conflict

Two sets of circumstances in which drinking occurs in the course of the settlement of conflict can be distinguished. First, there are those circumstances in which conflict is to be bound; that is, reduced as the basis for further inference and action. The second set of circumstances is that in which the conflict is to be escalated; that is, in which individuals are going to engage in aggressive acts in order to reduce their per-
273* ceived state of jeopardy. We will exemplify the first set of
578 circumstances by discussing the role of aguardiente in the settlement of cases in court. We will exemplify the second set of circumstances by discussing the role of alcohol in the performances which lead to anonymous assassination in that circumstance where consensus is that the man to be murdered is a witch.

273* The settlement of conflict in court
695

The process of settling conflicts under the direction of the ayuntamiento is mutually exclusive with required or mandatory drinking performances. However, once the conflict has been settled, the interaction between the members of the ayuntamiento and some, if not all, of the parties of the dis-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in text as follows: 539

K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANPIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.

The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.

HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

273* 578 731 539 HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.

In this manner all the men in town began to get together.

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOZES E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAM *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAHAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273*
• 578 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.
731
539 In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a
[754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in
755 such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe
754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

754
539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
• 578
672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
182 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is, as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring performances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te?tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te?tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

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231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel*, the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

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The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage.

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations:

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not.

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

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593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

Chapter 6

Curing and the Curers

Sickness is a sign of upset relations between the spirits or people and those of relatives, neighbors, or places. In the curing ritual, the curers not only treat the disease, but also try to bring about spiritual readjustment by dramatizing the ill effects of animosity. Because they claim to be able to counteract witchcraft, the curers exercise a great deal of power. This power is limited by institutional requirements controlling entry into the profession and exercise of their skill and knowledge. The breakdown in the authority of elder curers during my study of the community, and their attempts to reinstate themselves, made explicit some of the structural principles of the institution.

The Curing Hierarchy

Recruitment into the hierarchy. Until the 1950s, each side of the dual division had an age-ranked order of curers and recognized the leadership of a single elder, called *statal ?u?ul*. The older, more experienced curers, called the *b'ankilal*, or elder brothers, had authority over the novice curers, called the *?ihtz'inal*, or younger brothers. With the breakdown of the hierarchy during my stay, this distinction was becoming less clear. In 1964 there were seven curers in Alannantik and six in Ahk'olnantik; on a return visit I made in 1967, their numbers had been reduced by homicide and exile to five in Alannantik and five in Ahk'olnantik.

Entry into the profession occurs during an epidemic when the civil authority calls upon the curers to gather in the town hall to determine who is bringing the "heat" that causes death from disease. The curers decide whether there are any promising young men who have the third soul, swayohel, which gives them the ability to cure. If a young man is deemed

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Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they got there, there was no animal.

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča?uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča?uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča?uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča?uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

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159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

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symptomatic of the present breakdown in the hierarchical controls which formerly maintained the authority of elder curers. Informants say that in the old days there was no such competition, and the leadership of the elder curers was unchallenged.

Another clue to the personality of the curer can be seen in the statement of a young curer, who expressed in a kind of stream-of-consciousness style the fears and worries that plague him. After responding to the questioning about what he did when he cured, he proceeded to talk of his own concerns as he cured patients:

And when I arrive at Pahaltón [curing spring], I set aside my hat and blanket so that they do not get burned. If a dog should come and chew my sandals or if I should leave them outside the house where I am curing and a house rat chews them, then it will cost me thirty pesos to buy a new pair. When I come out late at night, a cat spirit sometimes appears on the road, and I throw a stone at it so it will not carry off my spirit; or a dog comes and I must beat him with my hand because I have no machete with me, or I must throw a broken bottle at the devil. When I get home, I take off my jacket and hat and go to sleep. My woman must tie up the sandals with a string on the rafters so that the rat will not eat them. Then it is the woman's fault if the devil dog gets them.

Late at night the spirits of the curers come to play and go at cock's crow. And at two o'clock the spirit of a sheep comes out with the devil, and these spirits do not go to sleep in their house until dawn. And if they [the curers' spirits] arrive in bed drunk and take off their huaraches and bother their wife she will put them in prison and then they have to pay a fine of two liters of the "gift" [liquor] and one handful of cigarettes. If their woman leaves the curers and they come out of prison, then if they do the same thing again, they send then to Santo Domingo. In prison they make net bags and if they have a wife, she goes and gives them tortillas and coffee. If their wife or father and mother help and give money, then they can pay for a lawyer and get out. Or if they have a daughter, then they receive the gift of a suitor and eat the bread.[3] Later there will come the chicken and sweet liquor and trago, and then she will marry. Later

3. "Eating the bread" signifies that the betrothal negotiations are accepted.

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they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

Sometimes a colicky baby may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [056] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

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622 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other informants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president. He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-

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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino."

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison. [682] [692]

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail. [624] [731] [754]

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side. [624]

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

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The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc-

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace."

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get

partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

7: Nash E-8 (1957-1987) 1970

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzo'ontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters.

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area.

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains:

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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578 793 794 273 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later announced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[465]

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 794 178 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the donation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even more severe censure:

793 796 626 578 178 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes of the Virgin Santa Lucia he found a wooden dress covered with gold paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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The issue of the Virgin's clothing has increased the attacks on the priest. These have been aired in public meetings which take place on Sunday. Opposition to the priest has shifted from the old cofrades to the young leadership of the pueblo, men who wish to extend internal control over the church as well as the town hall. They tried to enlist the fiscal's help in getting rid of the priest, but he refused to cooperate. The president's brother, who serves as town treasurer, recounts the following exchange he had with the priest:

I saw Padre Juan take money from the box when I was mayordomo in the church. All of us mayordomos went to talk with him. I asked him how much money was turned in during the fiesta.

"The madres [*lay sisters*] *know," he said, "I don't."*

He called them, and they said, "We haven't counted the money. Come tomorrow."

The priest was very angry that we asked for an account. Pablo [the fiscal] was too afraid to talk with him. When we left the church, I told Pablo, "You are in charge of the church. Why didn't you demand an account of the money in front of the church? We never got an account."

Then we began to fight. Padre Juan doesn't want to leave the town. He has it too good here. He has a good yard with many fruit trees and a nice house. The Ladinos in Teopisca don't let him stay in their convento overnight. They are sharp, those damned Ladinos! We pay the padre thirty pesos every Sunday. Before he lived here, we used to have good music and more firecrackers for fiestas. Now he wants to stop all this. He was the one who ordered that all the money be collected. We wanted to go buy a gross of firecrackers. He said, "Why do you want firecrackers? It is the mass that has value. The saints don't want firecrackers or music."

He is very smart, the padre. He wants to keep the money for himself. Now we just get two firecrackers each morning of the fiesta and two in the evening. In Teopisca, they fire dozens of firecrackers. Here what is left over from the contributions for the fiesta remains in the box, and he takes it.

I went to get new clothing for the saint. In Comitán they wanted two

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hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell* [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of his ability to recite the patʔoʔtan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

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while he was fiscal. He let control over the key to the church and the donation boxes slip into the hands of the priest. His opponents accused him of weakness and failure to act in the interest of the town. The careers of these fiscales illustrate the pitfalls for those filling the post. First, there is the temptation for personal gain, since the fiscal has access to the money of the saints: in the past three fiscales have been charged with robbery. Second, there is the problem that the fiscal serves two masters, the priest and the head cofrade, each of whom has different standards of conduct for the role: when the selection of the fiscal was in the hands of the cofrades, they chose a man who knew the pat?o?tan and who was to deal directly with the curers in rituals at the cave of the ancestors and in the homes of the cofrades; now he is chosen by the priest who prefers a young, literate man. If the fiscal follows the commands of the priest, he runs into problems with the cofrades. This was the difficulty with Antonio, who was put out of office by the cofrades because he yielded to the priest's demands to improve the convento and the church. As long as the conflict in interests between the priest and the traditional authorities exist, there is no successful position for the fiscal to take.

Conflict and Social Change

In the contest for leadership which has and is occurring, the following observations can be made on the basis of the events described.

1. The community has successfully incorporated the young, literate men into the framework of the traditional hierarchy. This has been accomplished by expanding the scope of activities of the president and síndico and by relieving them of serving in the lower posts of the hierarchy.

2. The ceremonial role of the principales serves as a symbol of continuity in government both in the tie they have with the past and in the annual changeover of officials.

3. The threat of foreign Indians in the township misusing their skills in dealing with the outside world has been overcome by removing them from office and preventing them from filling high posts.

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621 to the loss of belief in the curers. The principales were formerly conceived
756 to be overseers of the curers, men who, because of their advanced age,
178 could determine whether the curers were acting in the interest of the town. With the loss of this social control function, along with the loss of other functions such as holding public funds and helping the judges to interpret the law, they have declined to the level of ceremonial figures dissociated from political action.

621 The forms of political organization remain the same, but there has been
178 a shift in the balance of power from leaders whose authority rested on guardianship linked with the ancestors to leaders who can deal with the external power structure. The emergent forms of political organization can be partially assessed in the meaning participants assign to the events which precipitated this process of change. To paraphrase George Herbert Mead (1938:liii) it is the "organization of perspectives" concerning the past events and the present conditions which will effect the emergent
829 forms. The analytical problem can be phrased with the questions, "In
578 what dialectical terms is the conflict cast?" and "What changes do the
794 members of the community perceive as an outcome of the struggle?"
621 Whereas in the colonial period the conflict between the Indians and their
177 Spanish conquerers was seen as a struggle for control between Catholicism
178 and traditional religion, today the conflict is phrased as one of opposed economic interests. In the civil sphere, factional opponents seek the support of extra-communal power holders to gain their ends. In the religious
[193] sphere, the Indians see the conflict as one in which their control over the church and the income derived from it is opposed to the priest's growing influence.

829 In this reorganization of perspectives, the Indians share some of the
62 goals of the dominant society, but they continue to oppose themselves to
182 the Ladino world. For this reason they are willing to preserve the form of the civil-religious hierarchy as a means of asserting their independence from the dominant society. They see the community not only as a defensive screen against the outside world, but as a springboard for entry into the national economic and political life. They are now consciously taking advantage of pro-Indian sentiment to secure a preferred position in this society. Their awareness of their advantage over the deculturated Indian is

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support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person conversing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo?ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) occurred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts. Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition, they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)

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been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

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sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

Conformity and deviance. Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiʔ rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

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come the domain of the schoolmaster, who represents federal influence in the local community. He has rebuilt parts of the structure in the thirteen years he and his family have lived and worked in this building; it was his fortress when the Indians threatened to kill him for building a chicken coop obtruding into the street, and again when he interceded in a case of homicide. He has a small arsenal stored in his bedroom in preparation for any reversal of his position in the community. The school is his platform, the area he controls and from which he shouts to his compadres—the storekeeper, the fiscal, and the president—to come speak with him.

The long building is subdivided into four classrooms and the living quarters of the schoolmaster's family. The classrooms are furnished with crude benches and tables; blackboards and charts of birds, animals, and the alphabet decorate the walls. The back porch, converted to classrooms to accommodate the three hundred and fifty children, overflows with benches. The students' own materials—a notebook, pencil, and erasers—are provided by their parents. When a notebook is filled, the students industriously erase all the marks and reuse the book until it falls apart.

When I was in the village, the schoolmaster often encouraged visitors to share a Coca-Cola with him in his office. Here, surrounded by his books, his collection of artifacts of both genuine and spurious origin, a picture of the district inspector of federal schools pinning a medal on his chest, the flag of the Mexican republic, he could speak freely of the personal attacks and frustrations and of the rare satisfactions he encountered "in bringing civilization to the town." As he began to build up his political power in the community, the president and síndico often consulted with him on town affairs. Agents of the federal or departmental offices who came to town frequently communicated with him directly before going to the cabildo. The school became the arena for working out political programs and strategies. The schoolmaster prided himself on being the primary channel of communication between the outside world and the village.

The conflict of interest between the schoolmaster and the parents of the children over attendance in school has been ameliorated in recent years with the acceptance by some of the parents of education as an advantage. In the early years of compulsory education, physical force was used to round up the children. The traumatic experience of his first day in school

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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struck by lightning on two occasions. The solution was to rebuild the tower of metal so that Santo Tomás could not demolish it if he struck again, a defensive reaction which is typical of the Indians in their extra-community relations. When an eclipse of "Our Grandmother the Moon" occurred during my stay in town, everyone went to her assistance, banging metal tools and pots, in what was believed to be a fight with the sun.

The emphasis on self-recrimination and guilt in explaining failure minimizes the build-up of protest. Economic hardship attributed to a man's own improvidence in relation to his fellow man and God are accepted as his lot in life. The drama of the curing ritual projects the Indians' sense of their own guilt for the suffering and poverty they endure.

Political Behavior

The structure of the civil hierarchy has been maintained but organizational changes have occurred which have weakened the basis for it. The alternation of offices between church and civil positions survives in the lower levels, but the new leaders in civil affairs now begin in the Ejido Commission, and few of those who pass as president take on posts in the religious hierarchy. The appearance of continuity has been maintained in communal rituals in which the principales provide the link with the past and the alfereces, until 1966, were the link between civil and religious wings; but in the day-to-day running of the town, the officials do not act on these premises. The balance between officials from each side of the dual division has been upset by the population increase on one side. The abolition of the institution of alfereces gives public recognition to the growing awareness of imbalance. Moreover, the factions based on the new trucking cooperatives that cut across the dual division reduce the effectiveness of the dual division in channeling conflict.

Behavioral deviation from the norms is present in all societies and is not in itself an index to structural change. This comes about when new interpretations are given to events that undermine confidence in existing institutions and leaders. Political conflicts in the past were interpreted as a contest between members of the sides of the dual division and hostility

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was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzo?ontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

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Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanchetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

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C27 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

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Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo,* the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

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593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

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fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?"

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time [refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money].*

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for" [refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family]. The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino [Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act]. We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say. [Speaking to husband] But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they [husband's family] take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he cannot support them.*

Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and make a fire there* [*a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the home fires burning*].

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?"* [*This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.*] *He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

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Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.*

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

695 593 578 586 126 *from when I was asking for her [refers to betrothal expenses]. When the debt is paid off, then I can.*

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart. [To husband] Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe [obey] this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you [refers to judges].*

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre. [Rises and leaves].*

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

· 7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case,
756 resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.
528
[548] When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing
756 entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the
178 village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a
[754] group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

621 The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has in-
756 creased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One in-
178 formant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer re-
[213] strained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their
[054] power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused
683 of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he
621 was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be
[178] buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [593] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. • 578 627 [754] If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble. They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

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•578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

[454] A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by

621 Although the barrio lines are imaginary, they are effective limits for interaction between the inhabitants of the two sections.

621 The barrios are ideally, and in practice, endogamous.
582 (Eighty-three per cent of marriages contracted in Amatenango are barrio endogamous marriages, and 86 per cent of Aguacatenango couples have spouses from the same barrio.) The distribution of Inter- and Intra-Barrio marriages is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4

INTER- AND INTRA-BARRIO MARRIAGES

	Amatenango %	Aguacatenango %
Spouse from the same barrio	83	86
Spouse from other barrio	7.5	8
Spouse from other rural settlements	9.5	6

Given the fact that barrios originated from the parcialidades, which were at the time of the reducciones independent communities, it is possible to assume that the endogamy rules are as old as the establishment of the villages.

621 The latent hostility between the barrios becomes evident
518 when the endogamy rules are broken. Young men trying to flirt
582 with girls of the opposite barrio are reported to be beaten up,
[714] and although most informants insist that this custom is a "thing of the past," the Metzgers' field notes (Metzger, 1956-58) on Aguacatenango recorded two contemporary cases. Sometimes an offering of liquor to the single men of the opposite barrio will help

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 774 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [496] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [183] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [589] [1] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity [343] [342] (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naje) where animals are tied when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] [252] [343] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [008] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind. the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with
753 the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant
571
• 578

342 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of dis-
753 turbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not
571 only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for
578 the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights
[428] over the property if there are no mature sons left by the de-
ceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and
will move to their natal households with their children. Some
sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The
selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting
inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights
to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the
money obtained would be divided among them.

592
591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
518 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of
behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms
of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593
592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an
unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural
ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maxi-
mize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase
production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a
relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son
leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings
under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which,
in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to
avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 592 464 562 423 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land, and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household, nor does it upset its basic economy.

591 593 182 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint effort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 425 592 621 [593] A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is extremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads), but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village. This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 593 423 425 578 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between the jural rights of the household head and the administrative rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593
578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
621 could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
423 help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
476 ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
166
593 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound. Going to gather wood is a very nice break in the routine, and women usually go in the company of other women with whom they chat, exchanging news and gossip. A young wife usually stays home cooking while her mother-in-law leaves the house to gather the fuel for the hearth. Even if a woman does go out to gather wood, she is expected to do so with her mother-in-law, rather than with the women of her own natal family. A woman talking about a bad daughter-in-law will say, "She does not even want to gather firewood with me, she always runs to her mother's."

Women look upon having their own homestead as the only solution for gaining independence. It is true that, even then, they are under their husband's authority, but they control the food brought by the husband to the home, and they can make their own decisions about the work schedule. They can also take time to visit their own female relatives and childhood girl friends, a habit which is disliked by their mothers-in-law as being a threat to their own position.

We can see, then, that there are several factors which provoke structural tensions in the compound home; some are economic, others are related to the ordering of social relations in the kinship domain, and still others depend on the aspirations of the individuals.

In the course of time, the structural tensions accumulate to the point that they precipitate the fission of the household. The triad of a woman, her son and her son's wife, and the dyadic conflict between a father and son dissolves the compound into two

592 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, how-
578 ever, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential
[626] change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is
593 expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women
578 rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her
606 daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 593 598 606 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955), and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Living in Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
Patrilocal	8	4.0
Matrilocal	11	5.5
Fratrilocal	3	1.5
Parentilocal	179	89.0
Total	201	100.0

Residence Patterns for Unmarried People

591 593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

606 a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with
184 the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they
[593] seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

573 [636] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

[733] The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[416] [508] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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593 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimo-
•578 geniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture.
538 The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's
592 death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of
593 the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as
428 explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of
592 behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of
593 the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his
[591] wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be com-
[583] pensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament
578

[1] That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and
598 authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened
598 his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not
754 given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his
428 wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than
598 inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's eco-
585 nomic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
428 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
578 fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
554 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
428 woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
434 works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
562 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
428 578 example will also show.

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 562 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
578 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

159 428 562 578 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to [606] [736] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the property at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 422 593 578 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.

Case 3

[413] When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

159 422 593 578 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 178 754 796 613 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the native belief system has preserved many of its early features, it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The pervasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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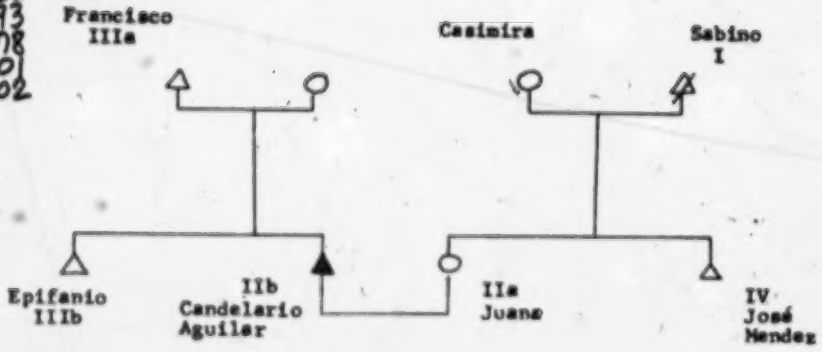

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

177
178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
796
613 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual activities performed by the lineage as a corporation became meaningless, and fell out of use.

592
613 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
434 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
421 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
578 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength. Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to discriminate between the part of the household income that is derived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided tools and implements, and finally those which come from his capacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food controlled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592
594 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
578 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fission of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disappearance of the household itself.

178
613 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
592 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
621
591
184

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 406 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 593 578 591 613 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 36 592 476 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each village follows the social propinquity established in terms of economic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 59 428 562 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual.

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aṭio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" *(hič sluwar hič likem me?tiktatik)*.

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

[P. 222-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co-operative was harassed by the old group, since the president did everything in his power to cut down their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneuvered the appointment of the chief business agent of the new truck cooperative and three other members as *nič'anil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzo?ontahal to Himšol, the neighboring Ladino town.

The nomination of the president was effected by winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee secured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the opposition candidate failed to get more than 28. Once PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

The present nominee did not want to run for office. Early in the running there were verbal threats on his life. He had never passed in any office other than that of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposition to his candidacy developed. First in importance was the original trucking cooperative, which objected to the competition of the president and his faction in the new cooperative. Second, these members spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzo?ontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[P. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle

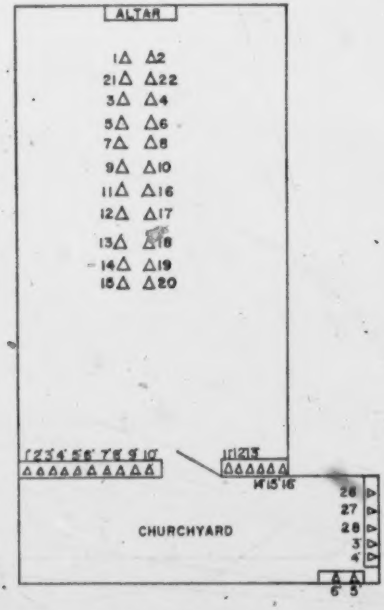

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos
Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story:

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

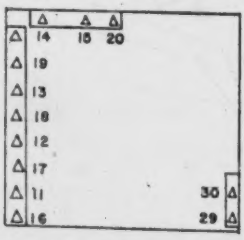

CHART 12—KITCHEŃ OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ital skoip we?eletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(ya?lel we?elil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing.

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta.

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible."

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure:

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard *(ha? ben bolik)*. They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com-

[P. 224-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yoʔtan,* 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *muʔ* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood *(yak hilel firma ta čiʔ).* Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzoʔontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[P 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 • 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzo?ontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

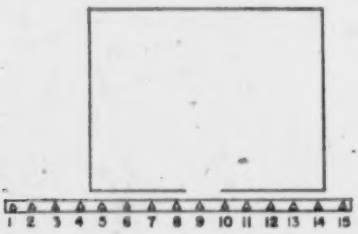

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Me?tik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yu?un Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Ali?bal Nič'nal yu?un Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Nič'nal yu?un Halal Me?tik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yu?un Tatik Sanpransisků)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yu?un Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Me?tik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yu?un Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yu?un Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nič'nal yu?un Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nič'nal yu?un Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nič'nal yu?un Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nič'nal yu?un Me?tik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nič'nal yu?un Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nič'nal yu?un Sanpransisků)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[P. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

621*
inauguration is deduced from both elicited and ob- 105
served behavior. These data complement the elicited 182
material on structure in rounding out the ethno- 794
graphic model of social reality. 554
571

Specification of the behavioral data on which struc- 121
tural and functional statements are made should pro-
vide the basis for more precise comparisons over time
and between communities. I turn to the observed in- [571]
teraction to summarize the evidence for microchange [178]
within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior sched- 621*
uled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is 105
going on which is leading to important organiza- 178
tional changes in the town. This was suggested in the 578
substitution of the schoolteacher for the former La-
dino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional
struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was
revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of
change is seen in the redefinition of the president's
position in relation to that of the principales. The
potential power which the post offers to the incum-
bent and those who back him is now recognized. The
risks are higher as the competition for the post
increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing con- 105
trol over the domain of the church is seen in the shift 793
of setting for the common meal from the churchyard 178
to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the 794
open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few 578
years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials
suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart
the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the com- 621*
munity, we see not just a defensive reaction to La- 105
dinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a 178
play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that 829
the corporate community, now and in the future,
serves not so much as an insulation from the outside
world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry
of the Indians into fuller participation in the national
society.

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